1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

514 24 252

practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

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VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

207 There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

205 The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such

204 places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

The friend cut her off and began to speak to A-bok as if his mother were not in the room. "Oh, cucumbers. Cucumbers are nothing special. You grow them yourself. It won't cost you any money. Just give them to him. Why argue over these unimportant matters?"

Lim A-pou muttered angrily, "My son is afraid of Chieng-cua just like a shrimp. Even if he doesn't want to give them away, he will have to."

I asked Lim A-pou later if she thought Lim Chieng-cua would really have struck her son. She scowled and said, "Why not? Last August he hit him." When I probed for more details, she said, "Huh! That wife's slave!" and ended the conversation with her usual response of "I don't know anything about it."

A relative of the family did know something about it and was happy to discuss a topic of seemingly endless village interest. Lim Chieng-cua bought a fancy radio for the family. A-bok came in one afternoon to find it blaring loudly for the pleasure of Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's twelve-year-old daughter. Besides telling her it was far too loud, A-bok also pointed out that the broadcast was in Mandarin, a language with which none of them are too familiar, and that she should not listen to Mandarin broadcasts for fear that she pick up something from a mainland station and get them in serious political trouble. Le-cu felt saucy and told him it was none of his business because her father had bought the radio. This made A-bok angry and he said some things about Le-cu's mother and maternal ancestors (i.e., cursed in the familiar fashion). Lim Chui-ieng overheard this, as she does nearly everything, and reported it to her husband. Lim Chieng-cua did not bring the matter up with his nephew until the family confidante and arbiter was present. He explained the exchange to him, in A-bok's presence, asking for a statement as to whose behavior had been remiss. One thing led to another, and A-bok got a sharp clip on the head. The friend told me sadly, "From the time he was a child, Lim Chieng-cua has been very fond of A-bok. The only reason they don't get along anymore is the women between them. A woman's heart is always narrower."

Although the quarrel over the cucumbers seems ridiculous and seemed to flare with little provocation, when viewed in a fuller context, it shows some of the finer qualities of both men. Lim Chieng-cua, though he might have suffered from A-pou's ill humor, would have been well within his rights as head of the family to simply order the cucumbers sent to his friend and business associate. Instead, he chose

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592 The plans of the above house also reveal a final pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal
511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United
• 207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a [871] major new market. Government policies are increasing edu- [702] cational opportunities. The universal military draft, in [582] addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military [204] obligations. A few villagers read the national news and [207] most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

462 real support for the many village men who are full time
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[511] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[201] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

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443 prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of
• 207 the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

546 Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house
571 in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are
[882] separated according to sex. There is some dating but the
[178] boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young
[913] married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people.
517 Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks
574 and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often
275 come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men
265 occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word